

(a) Anglican Church. (1)

"We believe that it is morally wrong to follow a policy which has as its object the keeping of any particular racial group in a permanent position of inferiority, and we believe that racial discrimination as practised in this country is directed to this end. The only policy which is morally defensible is one giving the fullest opportunity of development to the members of all racial groups.

"It has been suggested that it would be possible to keep the different racial groups separated, and yet to give each group equal opportunities of economic and cultural development. We do not believe that this is practicable. The industrial, economic and cultural development of the country demands the co-operation of the different racial groups that make up its population".

(b) Methodist Church. (2)

"The Non-European is already an integral part of our general population and essential to our economy. In the application of the principle of apartheid through successive legislative Acts the potentialities of men and women as individuals are ignored. Differentiation is mass differentiation on the ground of colour alone. In such circumstances injustice is inevitable."

S. A. Institute of Race Relations. (3)

The S. A. Institute of Race Relations is a multi-racial body which was established twenty-five years ago. It has never tied itself to any party political doctrine. In its approach and work it has been permeated by the fundamental principles of Christian living and by the values basic to Western civilization. These are usually stated to be : belief in the value of the individual human being and his right, by virtue of his humanity, to the fullest expression and development compatible with similar rights of other individuals within the pattern of a democratic state; belief in the values of democratic society with its accepted freedoms, rights and duties; acceptance of the brotherhood of man in its Christian interpretation. In its work for peace, goodwill and practical co-operation, the Institute has paid attention to all views sincerely held.

The Institute does not attempt to forecast the future or to lay down cast-iron policies. Its approach is to act in faith and on principle, believing that if these principles are sound, the outcome of action based on them will also be right and just. Its methods have been research and investigation, the objective analysis of facts so obtained, and recommendations based on such analysis.

The Institute holds that:

(a) Continued development of the South African potential will mean the progressive employment of more and more Non-Europeans in skilled jobs and the promotion of Europeans to administrative and supervisory posts, although it must be realized that a certain proportion of Europeans will not attain skilled occupations. Any such individuals will be provided for through the general services of the State, and should such services be inadequate the European group itself must help to take care of its own inadequacies.

(b) In/.....

(1) From statement issued by Bishops, 26th October, 1953.
(2) Decisions of conference, 22nd October, 1953.
(3) Summary of first section of go forward in faith - The Logic of Economic Integration, by Mr. Quintin Whyte, the Director.

(b) In the long run a position will be attained in which Non-Europeans will be given the opportunity to hold positions which are economically equal to European positions.

More detailed views and recommendations on the economic implications of integration have been as follows :

- (i) Recognition that the townward movement of Africans is a normal economic phenomenon; that it is impossible to place more Africans than the present number in the Reserves; that a permanent urban African population has come into being; that economic integration is a fact. (1)
- (ii) Approval of a system of identity cards for all South Africans as long as these do not serve in any way to determine or record the race of the holder, are not produceable on demand, and serve, for Africans, as a substitute for every other document of the nature of a pass with the exception of the service contract. Service contracts to be registered at labour bureaux and not to be produceable on demand. (2)
- (iii) European officials dealing with Non-Europeans to be very carefully selected. Non-Europeans to be increasingly employed in responsible posts in Government and municipal departments dealing with Non-European affairs. (3)
- (iv) No interference with the autonomy of trade unions. Mixed unions and employers' organizations to be permitted. (4) Definition of "employee" in the Industrial Conciliation Act to be extended to include all Africans. African trade unions to be given full legal recognition. (3)
- (v) The aim of wage and employment policy should be directed towards bringing about equal pay for equal work, in the sense of work demanding the same degree of innate ability, education, training, experience and responsibility, and of equal value to the employer. (5)
- (vi) Establishment of a Vocational Training Service for youths who at present fall through the meshes of formal education. (6)
- (vii) Increased productivity in order that the national income can be increased to keep pace with the growth of the population. (5) More effective use of available resources, including labour resources, to make increased productivity possible. (7)
- (viii) Gradual removal of restrictions, both legislative and customary, which prevent the adequate training and most beneficial employment of Non-Europeans. Provision of training and employment opportunities which will enable unskilled workers to acquire and use the maximum possible skill. Reclassification of jobs so as to increase the range of operative grades. Gradual abandonment of the system of migratory labour. (7)
- (ix) The gradual development of a class of full-time wage-paid African agricultural labourers. Conditions of their employment to be dealt with under ordinary wage regulation laws so as to bring them progressively into line with the conditions imposed in other occupations. Written contracts to be obligatory. (8)

(x) Purchase/....

- (1) Findings of Council, 1949
- (2) Evidence to Fagan Commission, 1947.
- (3) Minimum Constructive Programme, 1950.
- (4) Evidence to Industrial Legislation Commission, 1949.
- (5) Findings of Council, 1954.
- (6) Memoranda RR.168/1945 and 89/1947.
- (7) Evidence to Fagan Commission, 1947.
- (8) Memorandum RR.10/1944.

(x) Purchase within five years of the outstanding amount of land promised in 1936. Comprehensive policies for the integration of the economy of the Reserves into regional and national planning. Co-operation of Africans to be sought. Provision of training schemes for Africans to enable them to fill responsible positions on the staff. Economy of Reserves to be diversified. Freehold or long leasehold tenure of land to be permitted. Financial and technical assistance to be available to full-time African farmers in the same way as it is to Europeans. Increased powers of local government in the Reserves.(1)

XII. ALTERNATIVE SOCIAL POLICIES.

United Party.

(i) Laws against miscegenation to remain, with an amendment to avoid hardship in breaking up families. (2)

(ii) Social and residential separation between black and white with proper separate facilities for all(3). The Coloured people to be treated as a permanent appendix to the European population, to have proper houses and amenities in residential areas separate from those of the Europeans and the Africans. Segregation to be achieved not solely by laws and coercion, but by a vigorous programme to give Non-Europeans work, facilities for business, and self-built housing in their own areas.(2)

(iii) The first priority of the United Party if it is returned to power will be to ameliorate the lot of the tens of thousands of people suffering as result of the social consequences of integration - the lack of housing, overcrowding, disruption of family life and resultant deterioration in moral standards.(3) In consultation, and with the co-operation wherever possible of the people affected, a vigorous programme of home-building, slum clearance and re-housing to be undertaken. A spirit of self-help to be stimulated, including large-scale building of economic and sub-economic homes by the Africans themselves. Consideration to be given to establishment of a housing corporation with adequate funds, to work in co-operation with local authorities.(4)

(iv) Forward planning to provide for the anticipated growth in urbanization.(4)

(v) Portions of African townships to be set aside where security of tenure under appropriate safeguards will be available to Africans who have progressed beyond the need for sub-economic housing.(4)

(vi) Compulsory vocational training for all unemployed African youths in the towns.(2)

(vii) Provision to be made for those temporarily unemployed or who have become unable to work by reason of disability.(4)

S. A. Labour Party.

(i) Local residential segregation advocated, the policy to be implemented by use of the builder rather than the policeman.(5)

(ii) /...

(1) Minimum Constructive Programme, 1950.

(2) U. P. Congress, 1952.

(3) Mr. Strauss, Assembly, 18th February, 1954.

(4) Press Statement by Mr. Strauss, 12th March, 1954.

(5) Labour Party Policy Statement, January, 1953.

- (ii) A plan to provide decent houses at reasonable rentals in all urban areas over a five-year period as first priority in municipal budgets. Government funds to be allocated accordingly.(1) Rentals to be in accordance with a man's earning capacity. Transport to be subsidized.(2)
- (iii) Free and compulsory education for Non-European children in large urban areas from the ages of seven to fourteen inclusive as part of a long-term development plan.(1)
- (iv) School curricula to be revised to meet changing needs. General vocational instruction to be included.(1)

Liberal Party. (3)

- (i) Rejection of the Group Areas Act "in its entirety". Segregation should not be imposed by legislative or administrative measures.
- (ii) Compulsory education to be provided within twenty years for all sections of the population at least to Standard six or the age of sixteen.

Union Federal Party.

- (i) Residential and social segregation between Europeans and Non-Europeans to be obtained on an equitable basis and wherever possible by the encouragement of voluntary population movements through housing and town planning schemes designed to that end.(4)
- (ii) Freehold title in urban areas for those who have emerged from the tribal state.(5)
- (iii) Rapid improvement of living conditions, educational opportunities and welfare services.(4)

African National Congress.(6)

- (i) Adequate land for Africans in urban areas, and the opportunity to acquire freehold title.
- (ii) Permanent married quarters within walking distance from work for large groups of workers such as miners, domestic servants, railway workers in larger centres, etc.
- (iii) Abolition of lodgers' and visitors' permits.
- (iv) Municipal beerhalls to be replaced by licenced beer stores, or home brewing. Mere possession of beer to be no crime.
- (v) Abolition of police raids.
- (vi) Participation by Africans in the best educational systems planned by the State. Financing of education of Africans from general revenue, and adequate sums to be provided to meet expansion as well as current needs. State responsibility for erection of school buildings and

supply /...

- (1) Labour Party Policy Statement, January, 1953.
- (2) Policy adopted in 1946.
- (3) Press report of first conference, May, 1953.
- (4) From Party manifesto.
- (5) Press report of Party congress, March 1954.
- (6) Chapter XXI. by R. M. de Villiers, Handbook of Race Relations in South Africa, ed. Dr. Ellen Hellmann.

supply of materials. Appointment of qualified Africans to any post in educational institutions for their people.

Natives Representative Council. (1)

- (i) The setting aside by all local authorities of areas where individual Africans may purchase land on freehold tenure.
- (ii) Abolition of municipal beerhalls.
- (iii) Compulsory education as for Europeans.

Location Advisory Boards Congress, 1954. (2)

- (i) Availability of freehold title in urban areas.
- (ii) Free compulsory education for Africans in urban areas.
- (iii) Education of Africans to be controlled, not by the Native Affairs Department, but by the Provinces as is the case with education of members of other groups.

The Churches.

(a) Methodist Church. (3)

- (i) Pleaded with the Government to acknowledge and respect the human rights of all sections of the population, particularly in such vital matters as the acquisition and ownership of property in freehold.
- (ii) Pleaded for the right of all sections to be educated along accepted lines, in which way the door might be opened to the realization of the legitimate aspirations of every group.

(b) Anglican Church. (4)

Pointed out that its morally wrong to educate one particular racial group in such a way as to fit its members only for subordinate and inferior positions.

S. A. Institute of Race Relations.

The Director of the Institute has written, (5) " 'Social equality' requires definition, for round this term has grown up a number of misconceptions born of emotion and fear. Popularly, it conveys the suggestion of miscegenation, and the threat that Europeans will be compelled to entertain Africans to dinner in their homes, or to let their daughters go dancing with Africans ... Actually social equality involves none of these things. What it does appear to mean is that black and white can meet as social equals in the sense that men and women in the same occupations or in allied occupations can meet with mutual respect. It also means that where public services are made available from public funds, such services must be given equally to all groups. ... There will be no compulsion apart from that of common interests. The white man's home will remain his castle, and the black man's home must become his castle."

In /...

- (1) From summary of resolutions from 1937 to 1945, prepared by Adv. D. B. Molteno.
- (2) Reports of meeting in Johannesburg, January, 1954.
- (3) Resolutions on 22nd October, 1953.
- (4) From Statement by Bishops, 26th October, 1953.
- (5) From ... go forward in faith - The Logic of Economic Integration by Mr. Quintin Whyte.

In regard to specific points relating to the social consequences flowing from acceptance of integration, the Institute's attitude has been as follows:

- (a) The real barrier against miscegenation lies in the psychological attitude of the races concerned towards it. While there remains a premium on the possession of a white skin, just so long will miscegenation take place to some extent despite the law. When mutual respect is achieved, it is possible that there will emerge more strongly a respect between the groups of the other's prides and dignities. The fundamental pre-requisite for group purity is the determination of each group to retain its racial purity.(1)
- (b) Economic integration does not involve residential integration, nor any social mixing which any one group does not wish. Racial or group prides finding expression in social customs which limit social intercourse in a society in which there is equal opportunity for all involves no derogation from human dignity and mutual respect.(1)

Specific recommendations and statements of opinion have been:

- (i) The provision of new townships and of slum clearance schemes is supported, but the removal of settled communities is not, unless by agreement between all the racial groups concerned.(2)
- (ii) Provision of housing should be a national priority. In the long run the only satisfactory solution will be to enable workers to increase their productive capacities.(3) For those Non-Europeans who can afford to build for themselves, adequate areas should be set aside for purchase of plots on a freehold basis or for their rental on long-lease tenure. Plots and building materials should be sold by instalments, and minimum building standards enforced. Prevention of slum-landlordism, overcrowding, etc. should be attained by the application of existing laws and regulations. The majority cannot yet afford to build and require sub-economic housing. Very substantial State grants or interest-free loans should be made available for the purpose, and local authorities should bear a portion of the costs.(4) Administrative and health services should be charged against the municipal rate fund.(5)
- (iii) Each racial group is entitled to equally easy access to the centre of the town. If Non-Europeans are required to travel longer distances than are Europeans, it is not by their choice. Their transport services should thus be subsidized, and Non-Europeans should increasingly be employed in such services.(6)
- (iv) Public services, provided from public funds, must be given equally to all groups. The principle of modern public finance is that in its own interest and in the interest of the country as a whole, the richer section of the community must provide facilities for the welfare and advancement of the less fortunate.(7)
- (v) A plan must be made for getting all school-age children into school within a determined period - say 10 or 15 years. Compulsory free education should be introduced in urban areas without delay.(8) Work of mission and other private bodies should be welcomed and assisted, the State concentrating its efforts on providing for those not yet in school. The education of various groups should be under the same authority.(9)

Increased /...

- (1) From ... go forward in faith, op. cit.
- (2) Statement on Natives Resettlement Bill, RR.24/1954, and earlier statements on the
- (3) Findings of Council, 1949. /Group Areas Act.
- (4) Minimum Constructive Programme, 1950, and numerous earlier memoranda.
- (5) Memorandum RR. 94/1949.
- (6) Evidence to Non-European Bus Services Commission, 1943.
- (7) Statement RR. 46/1954.
- (8) Minimum Constructive Programme, 1950, and earlier memoranda.
- (9) Findings of Education Conference, 1952.

Increased vocational and technical training facilities for Non-Europeans are necessary.(1)

- (vi) All four existing University policies in regard to Non-Europeans should be allowed to continue. The two open universities, however, approach closest to meeting the needs of a multi-racial society.(2)
- (vii) Adult Education, in its widest sense, should be developed as an important means of making good deficiencies in education received in youth, closing the dangerous sociological gap between generation and generation, and opening up a fuller and more useful life for the individual.(3)
- (viii) Health services must be taken to all sections of the people according to their needs, because their health problems are interdependent. Every effort should be made to reach the masses with health propaganda. In this regard, health centres and poly-clinics are of particular value in rural areas.(4) The status of district surgeons should be raised and their number increased. Large numbers of Non-European health workers should be trained and those who merit it be employed in senior positions especially in rural African areas.(5)
- (ix) Cheaper staple foods such as maize, and adequate supplies of protective foodstuffs such as milk and margerine, are essential. The African school feeding grant should be restored in full and the scheme extended to further children of all racial groups.(6)
- (x) An increase in recreational facilities is urgently necessary particularly in densely populated areas. The needs of domestic servants should receive special consideration.(7)
- (xi) Non-Europeans should not be excluded automatically from any of the social security measures available to Europeans. Every effort should be made to overcome the difficulties at present in the way of granting pensions instead of block-grants to Africans.(6)
- (xii) Minimum educational standards for admission to the police force should gradually be raised for all racial groups. The use of the sanction of imprisonment for petty offences should be reduced to a minimum.(8)

The Institute realizes that most of its recommendations quoted in this Chapter would be costly to implement. It has frequently pointed out, however, that implementation of recommendations such as those outlined in the previous chapter, relating to achievement of increased national productivity and to more realistic employment policies, would make it possible for better educational, health and social services to be provided for all sections of the community.

XIII. MATTERS OF SPECIFIC CONCERN TO INDIANS.

United Party. (9)

All possible steps to be taken to bring about a round-table conference with India and Pakistan, and possibly other Governments, with a view to repatriating the Indians from South Africa. Pending repatriation, there should be separate

Indian /...

- (1) Council Findings, 1948, etc.
- (2) Memorandum RR. 45/1954 and earlier statements.
- (3) Council Findings, 1949, etc.
- (4) Council Findings, 1954.
- (5) Evidence to National Health Services Commission, 1943.
- (6) Minimum Constructive Programme, 1950, and earlier statements.
- (7) Council Findings, 1954.
- (8) Minimum Constructive Programme, 1950.
- (9) U. P. Congress, 1952.

Indian residential areas. It is time that the Indians made up their minds whether they want to owe allegiance to South Africa or to India.

S. A. Labour Party. (1)

The aggravated social prejudice resulting from the concentration of Indians in Natal should be eased by the abolition of laws restricting their movement.

S. A. Institute of Race Relations.

Whatever schemes of expatriation are tried, it is evident that the vast majority of Indians now in South Africa will remain as permanent South African citizens. The Institute trusts that in accordance with the Cape Town agreement of 1927 they will be assisted increasingly to conform to Western standards of life. (2)

XIV. ALTERNATIVE POLICIES FOR POLITICAL REPRESENTATION.

A. REPRESENTATION IN CENTRAL GOVERNING BODIES.

United Party.

The Hon. J. G. N. Strauss recently said in the Assembly, (3) "The United Party stands by the 1936 settlement as far as the political rights of the Non-Europeans are concerned ... I do not say that that [settlement] is the height of wisdom. I do not admit by that that after eighteen years of seeing how this experiment has worked in practice, we can feel very pleased with ourselves ... This experiment of 1936 has shown certain unsatisfactory features ... The United Party ... is doing its best to find the best Non-European policy ... [It] is quite prepared to measure and to test its present Non-European policy against the facts and the circumstances of 1954 and the facts and circumstances as we expect them to unfold before us in the next ten to fifteen years. We would be shirking our duty if we are not prepared to do that ... There is no point at all in any responsible person or party evading the inescapable political consequences [of integration] ... History teaches us very simply and plainly that economic power is the forerunner of claims for a say in the political set-up of the country."

S. A. Labour Party. (4)

The Labour Party declares that as a matter of principle it accepts the universal franchise for all adult literate inhabitants, but, realizing the need for the implementation of the franchise for Non-Europeans in stages, it advocates the following reforms:

- (a) All Coloured adults, men and women, in the Union and South-West Africa, to be granted a vote on the common roll if possessing the qualifications at present required of Coloured male voters in the Cape. (See Chapter VIII. of this article). This to apply to Provincial as well as Parliamentary elections.
- (b) Present arrangement in regard to representation in the Assembly of Africans in the Cape to be retained, but women to be enfranchised. On the /...

(1) Press statement 22nd January, 1954.

(2) Council findings, 1950.

(3) Hansard No. 3, 18th February, 1954. cols. 777-780.

(4) Official statement of policy issued 19th January, 1954.

the basis of a Std. V. franchise qualification, African men and women in remaining provinces to elect three Members of Parliament for the Transvaal and two each for Natal and the Orange Free State. Similar representation to be granted in each Provincial Council. The same voters to elect two Senators from each province, and the four nominated senatorships to be abolished.

- (c) Asiatic men and women in the Cape, Transvaal and Natal to have the same franchise rights as those recommended for Coloured people (i.e. a vote on the common roll if possessing certain qualifications). Indian men and women in Natal to elect three Members of Parliament, three members of the Provincial Council and two Senators.
- (d) No disqualification on the grounds of colour shall debar a Non-European of any racial group from election to Parliament or Provincial Councils.

Liberal Party. (1)

One of the fundamental tenets of the Party is that no person should be debarred from participation in the government and other democratic processes of the country by reason only of race, colour or creed.

The Party recommends the immediate extension of the franchise to all South African citizens of all races, men and women, over the age of twenty-one and able to fulfil one of the following requirements:

- (i) completion of Standard six; or
- (ii) income of not less than £250 a year in cash or kind; or the ownership of unencumbered property valued at a minimum of £500; or
- (iii) a special qualification for persons of not less than 35 years of age who are adjudged by a judicial tribunal to deserve the franchise on the grounds that they occupy positions of special responsibility, or have rendered meritorious service to the community.

It is recommended that there should be indirect representation in the Senate for all South Africans over the age of twenty-one who do not qualify for the common roll. The four nominated senatorships should be abolished.

All franchise rights should be entrenched.

Union Federal Party. (2)

Over a considerable period of years, and subject to safeguards against the disproportionate representation of any one section of the Non-European people, the placing of those Non-Europeans who have passed suitable tests of a high standard on the common roll of voters. In the meanwhile:

- (i) present arrangements in regard to representation of Non-Europeans in the Cape to be retained;
- (ii) limited direct representation of Non-Europeans in other provinces to be provided for in the Senate and Provincial Councils;
- (iii) representation of Non-Europeans in the Senate to be by Non-Europeans.

African National Congress.

Full citizenship rights for all Africans.

South /...

- (1)
- (2)

Published statement of aims and principles.

From manifesto handed to Press and decisions taken at Congress in March, 1954.

South African Indian Congress.

For a quarter of a century this body has stood for full citizenship rights for all Indians.

Non-European Unity Movement.

(A mainly Coloured organization). Stands for full citizenship rights for all non-white South Africans.

Christian Council of South Africa.

A conference convened by the Christian Council in 1949 was of opinion that man's common humanity is of greater significance than the admitted diversities among men. False conceptions of nationalism, by which any one section of the community, European or Non-European, claimed the exclusive right to control national affairs, were deprecated. True nationalism would find its expression in the service of the community as a whole. Conference found that in principle, adults of all racial groups should share in the responsibility of government, but, recognizing that many people in South Africa were not yet ready for this responsibility, recommended a qualified franchise for the time being.

S. A. Institute of Race Relations.

The Council of the Institute passed the following resolution in 1950:

"The Institute is convinced that the aim of statesmanship in the Union should be to find the basis for the development in all sections of a common attitude towards the ideals of Western Civilization expressed in a common loyalty to the State and in a standard of public and private life consonant with those ideals. For this reason the Council believes that the goal of racial policy should be the attainment in due course of common citizenship by individuals of all races.

"While adopting common citizenship as the goal of racial policy, the Council recognises that this cannot be reached at once because of the differences in conviction already mentioned and because of the wide range of difference in adjustment to Western Civilization, and that it is necessary in consequence to consider what attitude should be adopted towards measures which fall short of the goal. It believes that any measure which will take the Union along the road to the goal of common citizenship should be supported, and any measure which takes the Union in a different direction must be opposed."

The Institute considers that when one civilization claims the rights and the duties inherent in the assumption of power in another civilization the members of the former must qualify for such rights. Whether such qualification should take the form of a common but loaded franchise has not yet been formulated by the Institute, which is a diversely composed body representing many diverse opinions; but it believes that whatever form political representation may take immediately, in the long run such representation can be no less than that held by Europeans. The road to such common citizenship must be by evolution.

B. NATIVES REPRESENTATIVE COUNCIL.

United Party.

Mr. Strauss recently said, (1) "We in the United Party face this question of the political consequences of integration fairly by putting first things first. ... /...

(1) Assembly, 18th February, 1954. Hansard 3, cols. 778-779.

first. ... We are prepared in regard to the Natives Representative Council, which unfortunately this Government has abolished, to re-establish that Council but not to leave it as a mere talking-shop. ... We are prepared to give that body a measure of executive power ... It would be the beginning of a substantial forward move." Mr. Strauss went on to outline the proposals made by General Smuts, described in Chapter III. of this article.

African Opinions.

The African National Congress has frequently stated that there can be no substitute for direct representation in the Councils of State.

A Recess Committee of the Natives Representative Council, appointed in 1942, formulated minimum demands which included further Parliamentary representation, and which went much further than did the suggestions made by General Smuts in 1947.

C.

URBAN LOCAL GOVERNMENT.

United Party.

In a recent press statement, (1) Mr. Strauss said that it was fundamental to United Party policy that a growing measure of municipal self-government, under European supervision, should be granted in self-contained Native townships.

S. A. Labour Party.

The Labour Party recommends: (2)

- (i) All Coloured men and women in urban areas to be granted the municipal franchise on the common roll subject to possession of the qualifications at present required of Coloured voters for Parliamentary elections in the Cape.
- (ii) Africans residing in their separate wards should elect a number of Town Councillors equivalent to, say, ten per cent. of the total number. There should be an easy qualification based on literacy and twelve months' residence.
- (iii) Indians should also elect a number of Town Councillors equivalent to ten per cent of the total number in each municipality.
- (iv) No disqualification on the grounds of colour should debar Non-Europeans of any racial group from election to Town Councils.

Natives Representative Council.

In 1941 and 1943 this Council pressed for the extension to urban Africans of representation on Municipal Councils.

S. A. Institute of Race Relations.

Has consistently advocated the granting of executive power to African local government bodies, and the representation of all racial groups on municipal councils.

D. /...

(1) March 12th, 1954.

(2) Policy statement issued January, 1954.

D. LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN RURAL AFRICAN AREAS.

The United Party, Labour Party and the S. A. Institute of Race Relations have all expressed themselves in favour of the extension of powers of General, District and Local Councils in the rural African areas. In May, 1947, General Smuts made far-reaching proposals for this.

XV. WHAT OF THE FUTURE?

In the foregoing pages, every effort has been made to describe the present Government's policies accurately, to allow for the fact that six years is a very short space of time, to concede that certain important Commissions have not yet reported, to cite advances as well as retrograde steps. The inescapable conclusion is, however, that six years of apartheid have led to the considerable worsening of relations not only between black and white, but also between the various European political groups. There is an apparent calm at present; but this is only because by the threat of extremely harsh penalties, the Non-European passive resistance campaign has been suppressed, and Non-European leaders have been silenced.

Unless the present Government can succeed during the next few years in arousing a new spirit of extraordinary generosity and self-sacrifice amongst its European supporters, in order that the Non-Europeans may have concrete proof of the positive and non-repressive aspects of the apartheid policy, it is certain that this policy will be maintained only by the use of increasingly forceful methods. Force and suppression engender resentment and hatred; and, as recent events in South Africa have shown, when passions are high violence may occur and bitter suffering, that cannot be erased from men's minds for many generations.

The policies of the various parties and groups diverge widely, as has been shown in the preceding pages. But unless all these groups can agree on some mutual objective, however limited this may be from a long-term point of view, it appears certain that South Africa will pass through a period of darkness and sorrow. It does not matter if the objective is a limited one: the future is unpredictable and the events it brings must influence attitudes. But the pyramid formed by the various paths leading to this objective must point in an upward direction, and the pyramid must be strongly built, based on policies which are practicable, fearless and unselfish. The apex of a pyramid formed in such a way will, in the course of time, extend upward towards eternity.

* * * * *

Muriel Horrell,
Johannesburg.
March, 1954.

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